14 Harner E-6. 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

machetes, two hatchets, and cloth. Following this, the Macabeos assumed the role of the *barter*.

With this initiation of trade relations between the two groups, Jivaro families soon migrated north from the Río Pastaza Valley to settle in the previously uninhabited land between the Río Pastaza and Macas. These migrants began to act as middlemen in the barter of Jivaro products for steel machetes and other goods. The Macabeos at first traded mainly to secure pigs and salt obtained by the Jivaro from saline springs, but soon also began to attend *tsantsa* celebrations to purchase land obtained from pigs slaughtered by the Jivaro on such occasions. As a consequence of their attendance at the feasts, the Macabeos started also to purchase *tsantsas*.[20] This was the beginning of the "shrunken head" trade, and the first reported examples of *tsantsas* reached the outside world at about this time.[20]

Macas remained the only significant source of Western-manufactured goods for the Jivaro until 1850. In that year, the Jesuits founded new missions at Macas and Gualaquiza, to the south on the Río Zamora.[21] The Jesuit missionaries introduced the first cattle to Macas at this time, Macabeo men carrying calves and guinea grass (*gramalote* in Spanish) on their backs down the long trail from Riobamba. Both cattle and the grass flourished, and soon the Macabeos had a plentiful supply of beef, with the result that a gradual decline occurred in the trade with the Jivaro for pigs. Being unable to barter pigs any longer to obtain steel tools and other trade goods, the Jivaro began to engage in labor, such as clearing forest for pastures, for the people of Macas.

The Jesuits were shortly forced to withdraw from Gualaquiza and Macas due to political reasons, but they left behind there at Gualaquiza a few mestizos who constituted the first

34 Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

Jívaro reside in such mission-administered lands, since Ecuadorian settlers have taken over almost all of the remainder of the desirable land in the Upano Valley. New white settlements which have sprung up in the Río Upano frontier region include Sucúa (by the Río Tutanangoza), Huambi, Huambiniimi, and Logroño (the latter three between Sucúa and Méndez) (see Map 2). By 1950, the reported white population in the Río Upano frontier region had reached 1,811 persons, as against 2,356 Jívaro in the same valley.[34]

By 1956, the Jívaro west of the Cordillera de Cutucú were largely in direct, continuous contact with the Spanish-speaking Ecuadorian population. In this frontier zone, white soldiers and police had imposed the national laws on the Jívaro. White settlers had seized almost all of the land except that protected by the missionaries, and employed the Jívaro in wage labor. Missionaries, with the backing of law enforcement agencies, were putting the Jívaro children in boarding schools and enculturating them to the new, alien way of life. This direct, unremitted contact was tending to acculturate the frontier Jívaro to the national Ecuadorian way of life and the direction of the trend was towards eventual assimilation.

The Interior Jívaro

In contrast, the Jívaro beyond the frontier of colonization still were not yet in continuous first-hand contact with the white population at the time of the investigator's original fieldwork in 1956–57, and these are the people whose culture will be described here. Their territory, mainly east of the Cordillera de Cutucú, had been rarely, if ever, penetrated by any Spanish expedition or later group of Ecuadorian colonizers. This mountain barrier, which is traversed by an ardu-

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

101 628 barriers, intra-tribal feuding between neighborhoods has contributed significantly to the insulation of the interior Jívaro from contact with the frontier whites. Internal hostilities have discouraged many men from traveling more than ten or fifteen miles from their homes. Many have not been willing to risk traveling that far, for fear of assassination by personal enemies or enemies of close relatives. At the time of the author's original fieldwork in 1956–57, such fears próduced a situation in which relatively few of the men deep in the interior had even briefly visited the region of Ecuadorian colonization.

177 439 [411] [441] The relative isolation of the interior Jívaro, however, had not prevented them from obtaining increasing quantities of machetes, steel axes, and shotguns. By means of neighborhood-to-neighborhood relays of native trading partners, these products of Western civilization were passed from the frontier Jívaro into the most remote parts of the tribal territory. All of the interior Jívaro neighborhoods were thus supplied with steel cutting tools, firearms, and ammunition without the necessity of coming into direct contact with the white population.

[464] The growth of this trade in recent decades had been made possible by the increasing involvement of the frontier Jívaro in the Ecuadorian socio-economic structure. The frontier Jívaro, primarily through their employment by Ecuadorians in manual labor, had acquired quantities of factory-manufactured goods. At the same time, there was a shortage of native-type goods among the Jívaro on the frontier, partially because of the near exhaustion of local game, which supplied feathers and bird skins for ornament. The interior Jívaro, in contrast, had a much more abundant supply of game and native-produced goods, but a greater scarcity of steel cutting

177 184 43

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

Economic factors are also playing an important role in the rapidly changing life of these people. The Jívaro, as has been indicated earlier in this book, have long been anxious to acquire the technology and dress of Western civilization. Now that air transportation is available to most of the tribe, the only limit on Jívaro aspirations to acquire manufactured goods is their ability to acquire cash. Their model for such success is the cattle-raising Ecuadorian colonists west of the Cordillera de Cutucú, who have now converted most of the bottomlands of the Río Upano Valley into pasture with the aid of Jívaro labor. Air transport has made it profitable to ship beef to the highlands from there, and three local competing airlines are involved in the lucrative trade. Some Jívaro, with the strong encouragement of both Catholic and Protestant missionaries, are now clearing pasture land also for themselves to raise cattle and are starting to achieve success in acquiring substantial cash in exchange for beef.

While essentially pleased with their changing standard of living, the Jívaro have an increasingly pervasive fear of the white colonists and soldiers. West of the Cutucú range, the influx of mestizo settlers from the highlands has created a scarcity of land for cattle raising, and they are now attempting to invade the lands reserved by the Catholic missions for Indian use. The Jívaro, in turn, wish to expand their own pasture land, and see the attempted inroads by whites into the forest lands as a threat to their own future economic welfare. In 1969 a confrontation occurred between approximately four hundred Jívaro and thirty colonists and police near Sucúa when the latter group attempted to enter mission-administered lands. Although both groups were armed, no fighting broke out, the whites choosing to withdraw. However, the competition for land is clearly going to become worse, and may lead to serious bloodshed.